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XX.—THE KNIGHT OF THE LION.¹

"L'autre comtava de Galvain,
E del leo que fon compain
Del cavallier qu'estors Luneta."

(Roman de Flamenca, vv. 665-7.)

I.

The following pages are a discussion of the origin of the second half of Chrétien's *Ivain*; the part of the story, namely, in which the hero wins the title Chevalier au Lion. They are a continuation of a study published in 1903,² which dealt chiefly with the first half of the romance. That study, to which frequent reference must necessarily be made, endeavored to show that the *Ivain* is a partly rationalized fairy mistress story. The kernel of the evidence there presented was a detailed comparison³ of the *Ivain* with stories in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* (LU) and the *Book of Leinster* (LL), two Irish

¹ The writer acknowledges the courtesy with which authorities of Harvard University Library have given access to its great resources.

² *Ivain: A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance*, in *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 1-147. (This study was written in 1900.)

³ See especially pp. 43 ff.

manuscripts that were actually written before the time of Chrétien de Troyes. The first part of the *Ivain* was shown to be founded, almost incident for incident, on the well-known Celtic tale, of which the *Serglige Conculaind* is an ancient example, about a mortal who is invited to fairyland, journeys thither successfully and weds a fairy queen, but disobeys her injunctions, loses her, becomes insane and has to be cured by a magic remedy.

If this explanation, which has met with wide acceptance¹ and which seems difficult to refute, be correct, then the second part of the story, beginning where Ivain is cured of his madness, ought to be in origin a journey of wonders, in which the hero aided by a helpful beast should fight his way through terrible dangers back into the Other World. Fairy mistress stories in Celtic and elsewhere are apt to end with the happy return of the hero to live with his supernatural wife. The second part of the *Ivain* would thus be a

¹See reviews of *Ivain A Study*: Golther, *Studien zur vgl. Literaturgeschichte*, IV, 481-85 (1904); *Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XXVIII, Ref. 34-37 (1905); Jeanroy, *Rev. Critique*, LIX, 4-5; Huet, *Moyen Age*, (1904) 65-66; McKerrow, *Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, VII, 100-102; Nitze, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 82-84; and cf. Golther's review of Foerster's *Yvain*, edition of 1902, *Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XXV, Ref. 138-140; and the important article by Ehrismann, *Märchen im höfischen Epos*, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deut. Sp.*, XXX, 14-54. Even the distinguished editor of Chrétien's works, whose resolute opposition to any theory that should detract from the originality of the author of *Ivain* is well known, has of late admitted the presence of more and more folk-lore features. Compare Foerster's *Yvain*, ed. 1891, p. xii, with his new edition, 1902, p. xli. Professor Foerster's recent admission that the "*märchen*" of a maid freed from the power of a giant lies at the bottom of the Esclados combat, restricts his conception of the independence of Chrétien considerably. Professor Foerster's view is of course quite different from my contention in *Ivain A Study*, which is that almost the whole of the *Ivain* is based on one *märchen*. That this *märchen*, which is in its main outlines an unmistakable fairy mistress story, had been contaminated by a second theme, that of a giant with a captive maid, was noticed in *Ivain A Study*, p. 50 ff. Professor Foerster absolutely refuses to call the *märchen* of which he speaks Celtic (*Yvain*, ed. 1902, p. xlviii).

sort of a repetition of the first. The hero after he has lost his lady must begin all over again and fight his way anew through the Perilous Passages into the Other World. Such is in brief the theory which the following pages will discuss.

This theory if at all tenable certainly has a very attractive look. According to it Chrétien drew almost every incident in the entire romance from one coherent Celtic tale. *A priori* it is, of course, much more probable that he got all his incidents from one source, rather than that he pieced them together hit or miss from all sorts of materials.

Certain rather obvious objections, which at first glance might appear important, have doubtless prevented this theory from receiving attention by previous investigators.

The first objection is based on the fact that the lion is not an inhabitant of Celtic forests, and on the inference that the beast cannot therefore have figured in an ancient Celtic tale.¹ This inference it will be seen presently is unwarranted.

Another objection is that Chrétien handles the theme of the grateful lion with such evident delight, and attributes to the beast such exquisite chivalry, that the whole episode might seem to be a pet idea which Chrétien was introducing from outside sources into his romance. Rash would he be who should assert that Chrétien could not have known some crusader's tale of a helpful lion like that told of the historical crusader Goufier de Lastours.² Still more rash he who should refuse to see in the way in which the lion episode is handled traces of the delicate fancy of the French poet. Chrétien's preoccupation with questions of motive and sentiment is always at work modifying his material. He never

¹ Cf. Foerster, *Yvain*, ed. 1902, p. xxvi.

² See besides the references given in *Ivain A Study*, pp. 129-132; Thomas, *Romania*, xxxiv, 55-56; McKenzie in these *Publications*, xx, 397-98; Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii; and cf. O. M. Johnston, *Proc. of Am. Phil. Assoc.*, Vol. xxxii (1901), p. li.

seems, however, to go out of his way to introduce new incident any more than greater writers than he—Chaucer or Shakspeare. Chrétien's interest was manifestly not in mere plot any more than was Shakspeare's. Just as Shakspeare was satisfied with the old tales of Macbeth and Lear, so Chrétien followed for his incidents folk-tales, or stories founded on folk-tales, that came to his hand. Chrétien appears to have constructed nearly every incident in his romance out of some suggestion made by his original tale. That the lion was suggested to Chrétien by something in his original is, therefore, highly probable, though the present form of the lion episodes in the *Ivain* may owe much to the influence of chivalric tales coming from the lion-haunted Orient.

A third objection is based on a real difficulty. The explanation of the second part of the *Ivain* is not simple and straightforward like that of the first. The adventures of the second part of the *Ivain* do not as they stand constitute a true series of dangers that have to be surmounted in order to reënter fairyland. This objection is met by pointing out that some of the adventures of the second part have been interchanged and new material has been introduced. This is no gratuitous assumption. As the episodes stand they are not mutually coherent but contain contradictions.

Before taking up this point it is expedient very briefly to summarize the romance. In the summary, statements inferred on the theory that the *Ivain* is a partly rationalized Celtic Otherworld Journey story are placed between brackets.¹ Phrases that may be used to name the episodes are printed in italics. The episodes are numbered for convenience in reference :

¹Scarcely an incident of the 31 here enumerated resists explanation as the more or less rationalized form of an episode originally belonging to an Otherworld Journey Story.

SUMMARY OF CHRÉTIEN'S *IWAÏN*.

(1) [The fairy lady Laudine sends her *damsel messenger*, Lunete, to Arthur's court to invite the visit of a mortal hero].¹ (2) The *first adventurer*, Calogrenant, returns unsuccessful and relates his story.² (3) The hero Iwain sets out alone through a thorny *tangled wilderness*,³ (4) and is entertained by a *hospitable host* and his lovely daughter who give Iwain directions.⁴ (5) Iwain meets a *monster herdsman* who supplies more information about the way.⁵ (6) Iwain follows a narrow path⁶ that leads him to the *Marvellous landscape* [of the Other World], a great tree overshadowing a spring of water and a stone.⁷ (7) He pours water from the *Fountain Perilous* on the stone stirring up thereby a terrible storm⁸ (8) which

¹Inferred from *Iwain*, vv. 1004 ff. In the version in Malory's *Mort Darthur*, Bk. VII, which has some features more archaic than Chrétien's poem, Lynet appears as messenger at Arthur's court. Such messengers are: Liban in the *Serglige Conculaind*, the "demoiselle" messenger in *La Mule sans Frein*, p. 692, below, and in *Chevalier du Papegau*, p. 698, below; Hélie in *Bel Inconnu*, Nereja in *Wigalois*, the "pucele" in *Rigomer*. On the fairy messenger see Paris, *Rom.*, x, 476 f.

²Cf. Loegaire and Conall in *Fled Bricrend*, and Kay in *La Mule sans Frein*.

³See p. 690, below.

⁴Cf. the "large house in the glen" in *Tochmarc Emere*, p. 689, below; Evrain in *Erec* (Joy of the Court); the abbot of the "jæmerlichen" monastery in *Lanzelet* (ed. Hahn, vv. 3828 ff.); "Le Chevalier Amoureux" in *Papegau*, p. 699, below; Geriaume in *Huon* (ed. Guessard, Dunostre episode); Meliadus in *Méragis* (ed. Friedwagner, v. 2910 ff.); "Dodines der wilde" who pilots Arthur across the screaming moss and entertains him (*Lanzelet*, vv. 7084 ff.): cf. also Ehrismann, *Beit. z. Gesch. d. dent. Sp.*, xxx, 24, 26 and 46 f. In MacManus, *In Chimney Corners*, p. 43, is an Irish tale with a similar figure.

⁵See p. 682, below.

⁶Such a path is in *Tochmarc Emere*, p. 689, below; *La Mule sans Frein*, p. 692; *Papegau*, p. 699, and *Wigalois*, v. 4505.

⁷See *Iwain A Study*, p. 82 ff., p. 133 ff., and to the lists there given add that traces of this landscape occur in *La Mule sans Frein*; *Lanzelet* (Iweret episode); *Huon* (Dunostre); *Papegau*; *Wigalois*; *Wolfdietrich*; *Fergus* (ed. Martin, vv. 3656 ff.), etc., etc.

⁸A storm of wind and rain defending the Otherworld Castle is a not uncommon motive. In *Fled Bricrend* the heroes on their way to the castle of Curoi are overtaken by a hideous black cloud, a sort of druidical mist (*Iwain A Study*, p. 53, note). Mailduin and other adventurers in the

amounts to a *challenge*.¹ (9) He is attacked in *mortal combat* by a gigantic warrior called Escados the Red.² Pursuing this warrior, to whom he has given a death blow, (10) Iwain traverses a *perilous passage*, has his steed cut in

imrama pass through great storms (*Iwain A Study*, pp. 60, 96). The Isle of St. Brandan, a variant of the Celtic Other World, is defended by terrible storms, see d'Avezac, *Les Isles Fantastiques de l'Océan Occidental, Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (1845), I, 303; Higginson, *Tales of the Enchanted Islands*, p. 211. In the Mabinogi *Manawyddan, son of Llyr*, after a thunderstorm and a fall of mist, Pryderi and Rhiannon vanish into the Other World, Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 107 (cf. I, 101, where an enchantment is accompanied by thunder and rain). In *Wigðlois*, vv. 6804 ff., the castle of Roaz is defended by a magic mist. A mist defends the castle of Malduc, *Lanzelet*, vv. 7589 ff. Both in *Wigðlois*, v. 6866 f., and in *Papegau*, p. 73, a blast of air near the revolving wheel is mentioned: cf. the blast of wind in *La Salade* (quoted by Miss Paton, *Studies in Fairy Mythol.*, p. 53, note). A storm is before the Otherworld Castle in the *Turk and Gawain*, vv. 65 ff., and one beside the turning castle in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, vv. 378 ff. (For the suggestion of this note, and for references to the *Turk and Gawain* and to the *Pèlerinage*, I am indebted to Dr. K. G. T. Webster, who is preparing a detailed study of the last named poem).

¹A more natural challenge is in *Lanzelet*, vv. 3899 ff., where L. strikes a gong. Foerster thinks that this gong survives in the *Iwain*, v. 211 ff., in the episode of the Hospitable Host (Foerster, *Iwain*, ed. 1902, p. xxxv ff.). In Malory, Book VII, the Red Knight is challenged by blowing a horn hanging by a sycamore; cf. *Perceval*, vv. 21967 ff., 26508 ff. In *Garel* the challenge is by breaking flowers in the garden of "Eskilabôn der Wilde," ed. Walz, vv. 3234 ff., cf. *Huon*, vv. 4734 ff. In LU, Cuchulinn throws the withe on the pillar stone of the Dun of Nechta's sons into the water as a challenge to the fairy folk (Faraday, *Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, p. 30), or, according to LL, he throws the whole pillar stone (Hull, *Cuchullinn Saga*, p. 148); cf. Hyde's note on striking a "pole of combat" as a challenge, *Beside the Fire*, p. 180.

²To the epithet "red" compare "the Rede Knyght of the Reed Laundes," Malory, Bk. VII (*Iwain*, p. 143); Mabonagrain clad in red, *Erec* (Joy of the Court); Iweret with a red lion as his coat of arms, and a shield all red, *Lanzelet*, vv. 4420 ff.; the Marshal in red armour in *Papegau*, p. 699, below; "Estamus le roux" in *Ysaye le Triste*, *Zt. f. rom. Phil.*, xxv, 657 ff.; Margarijs "mit roden wapenen" and "enen roden scilt" in the Dutch *Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, vv. 4484 ff.; Avartach clad in a scarlet mantle in the *Gilla Decair* (*Iwain*, p. 105); the Red Gruagach in the Tale of Manus, p. 697, below, and the mysterious character Tomás Fuilteach (Thomas the Bloody), lord of an enchanted castle in Irish folk-tales, Hyde, *An Sgéahuidhe Gaedhealach*, p. 83, *et passim*.

two behind him and finds himself made prisoner by the falling portcullis,¹ of (11) the [*Otherworld*] *Castle*. (12) *Iwain's rescue by the damsel Lunete* follows. (13) She gives him a ring of invisibility, one of the *magic belongings* of the castle. (14) News from the "*Dameisele Sauvage*"² that Arthur is coming to essay the adventure of the fountain (15) persuades the [fairy] lady Laudine to *marriage with Iwain the slayer of Esclados* (Laudine is thought of as the widow of Esclados). (16) *Arthur and his knights* are met at the Fountain Perilous by Iwain who, having assumed the function of Esclados as defender of the fountain, ignominiously overthrows Kay and then entertains Arthur at the Castle. (17) Iwain departs for a year taking a *magic ring* [that doubtless conferred the power of returning at will to the Otherworld castle]. (18) He overstays his time. *Laudine's love changes to hate*, and her damsel messenger deprives Iwain of the ring. (19) Iwain in despair [at his loss of power to return to the Otherworld Castle] *loses his reason* and lives like a beast in the forest. (20) *A hermit gives him bread*. (21) He is cured by a damsel with a *fairy remedy*, and (22) entertained by the *hospitable lady* of a castle who is beset by a hostile baron. She gives Iwain arms and a notable steed and he delivers her from her foe. (23) Iwain leaves this castle and rides through a *dense forest* till (24) he encounters a lion and a serpent fighting. *He slays the serpent*.³ (25) The

¹See *Iwain A Study*, p. 75 f. Cf. the copper men with clashing flails in *Huon* (Dunostre), vv. 4552 ff.; the revolving wheels in *Papegau*, p. 699, below, and in *Wigdlois*, vv. 6775 ff.; "*La vielle moussue*" with a flail, *Fergus*, vv. 3734 ff.; and Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, p. 133 ff., where the sword-bridge motive is compared.

²This personage is unexplained. Compare, however, the "*femme sauvage*" in *Papegau*, p. 72, l. 6, from whose ferocious embrace the hero had difficulty in escaping. In *Kulhwch and Olwen* Kay had a similar escape from the wife of Custennin, the shepherd who points out the way (Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 228). The figure is doubtless a traditional one, as inhabitant of the tangled forest at the margin of the Other World.

³A corresponding situation occurs three times in *Wolfdietrich B* (ed. Amelung and Jänicke). W. helps an elephant against a "*wurm*," str. 512 ff., and a lion against a "*wurm*," str. 667 ff. and 722 ff. *Wolfdietrich B* contains the Marvellous Fountain, str. 796 ff. and Landscape, str. 350 ff.; "*ein waltman*" that shows the way to an adventure, str. 661 ff.; the lion and serpent combat and the helpful lion; the carrying of the wounded lion to a castle to be healed, str. 730 ff. (cf. *Ivain*, vv. 4652 ff.), the releasing of the lion just at the critical moment to help the hero overcome a vassal (Wildunc) who has usurped the hero's rightful place beside the lady, str. 782 ff. (cf. *Iwain's* combat with the wicked seneschal and the aid given by the lion, p. 701, below). Of course the *Wolfdietrich* is a hodge-podge of materials, but it is impossible that all of these incidents should occur both

thankful lion follows him like a dog, and at evening pulls down a deer and brings the carcass for his master to cook and eat. (26) Iwain returns to the *Fountain Perilous*, where he finds that Lunete has been traduced, and that, to clear her, Laudine's wicked seneschal must be slain. (27) Iwain secures entertainment for the night at a castle beset by *giant Harpin*. Aided by the lion he kills the giant and delivers the daughter of the lord of the castle. (28) Again at the *Fountain Perilous* Iwain aided by the lion *slays the wicked seneschal* and frees Lunete. (29) Iwain visits the *Castle of Ill Adventure*, and, aided by the lion, slays two goblins and disenchants the place. (30) Iwain espouses the cause of the younger daughter of the *Black Thorn* and fights Gawain to a stand-still. (31) Again at the *Fountain Perilous* Iwain pours water on the stone until he regains admission to the [Other-world] castle, and to his [fairy] mistress Laudine.

II.

With this summary before us, it is easy to observe the following irrationalities in the second part of the romance. If, as we are told in 31, Iwain has but to pour much water on the stone and raise a very great tempest in order to regain admission to the Otherworld Castle, the question arises, why did he neglect this obvious expedient so long? He was at the *Fountain Perilous* in 26, and again in 28. Another incongruity appears in 30. The helpful lion here drops suddenly out of the story, as if forgotten for a moment, and turns up unexpectedly when the incident is over.¹ The attentive reader will be struck too by something incongruous

in it and in the *Iwain* by accident. *W.* must then have borrowed from *I.* Evidently from some version more primitive than Chrétien's, for *W.* has the entrance through the marvellous fountain to reach the Other World, str. 796 ff., an archaic motive not in *I.* (see *Iwain A Study*, p. 117). The lion helping *W.* fight a serpent (not *vice versa*) is primitive for the incident must have arisen out of a helpful lion's guiding the hero through a vale of serpents (see p. 686, below). The circumstances of the lion's helping Wolddietrich in his fight with the wicked vassal are better explained in *W.* than in *I.* (see p. 682, below).

¹ Paris surmised that in this incident Chrétien was not following his source, *Journal des Savants* (1902), p. 290, note 2.

about 30, the "Daughters of the Black Thorn." It has no folk-lore features like the rest of the romance. It seems dragged in solely to give an excuse for Iwain's return to Arthur's court, the only place, of course, where he could encounter Gawain.

If one turns to the Welsh version, the *Lady of the Fountain*,¹ one will see these adventures of the second part of the romance more nearly in their original order. In the Welsh the combat between Iwain and Gawain occurs directly after the overthrow of Kay, when Arthur and all his knights are at the Fountain Perilous. This is a much more natural place for this encounter. One understands under this arrangement why there is no question of the helpful lion, since it has not yet entered the romance. In the Welsh the incongruous adventure of the Daughters of the Black Thorn (30) does not occur at all. The Welsh makes Iwain regain admission to the Otherworld Castle and to the favor of the fairy lady in 28, and the romance ends there. The "Castle of Ill Adventure" (29) is given separately in the Welsh as a sort of an appendix. This is obviously right. Episode 29 has no connection with the rest of the romance but is an independent variant of the well-known Otherworld Journey theme. In the Welsh the lion is not described as taking part in the combat of 29,² a hint that this episode has a different origin from that of the rest of the romance.

In the Welsh the pointless repetition of visits to the Fountain Perilous is avoided. We see from it, though no explanations are given, that the lion guided Iwain back to the Castle of the Fay. Immediately after the lion was encountered (25), Iwain found himself at the Fountain Perilous (26). Then follows the slaying of Giant Harpin (27),

¹ Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, 1 ff.

² See, however, p. 701, below.

who was perhaps one of the monsters that defended the entrance to the Other World. Then comes the mortal combat against the wicked seneschal (28), and the end of the story (31). The seneschal had manifestly usurped the place formerly held by Iwain, and before him by Esclados, as possessor of the lady and defender of the Fountain. Naturally therefore by slaying the seneschal,¹ Iwain reconquered his old position beside the fay, and regained admission to the Otherworld Castle.

It is not in the second half of the romance only, that the Welsh preserves features more original than those given by Chrétien. The Huge Herdsman (5) is in Chrétien's poem a mere hodge-podge, but in the Welsh he is a coherent monster. In *Iwain*, vv. 278-409, this "vilain qui resanbloit mor," had a head larger than that of a horse, and mossy ears the size of an elephant's. He had the eyes of an owl, the nose of a cat, his mouth was cleft like that of a wolf and his boar's teeth were sharp and red. He wore the newly flayed skins of two oxen, sat on a stump with a huge club in his hand and did not speak any more than a beast would do. Small wonder that Calogrenant's first words were: "Se tu es buene chose ou non?" The monster replied, "Je sui uns hon."² In appearance evidently the creature was more beast than man.

The description of this creature is in the Welsh more coherent:

"A black man of huge stature, seated at the summit of a mound. He had but one foot, and one eye in the middle of his forehead. In his hand he carried a massive iron club. . . . About him were a thousand savage animals. . . . He was the guardian of the forest."³

Readers of Celtic tales are acquainted with this one-legged,

¹In the Welsh, not a seneschal but two pages are the usurpers.

²*Iwain*, vv. 329-30.

³Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 8-9.

one-eyed and often one-handed figure, under the name of the *Fáchan*. He appears both in Irish and in Highland Scotch tales, and the descriptions from the various sources and that just quoted from the *Lady of the Fountain*, tally so exactly as to make unavoidable the conclusion that the *Fáchan* was a very ancient figure in pan-Celtic story.¹ MacPhie, Campbell's Highland informant, knew the *Fáchan* as "the Desert Creature of Glen Eiti . . . with one hand out of his chest, one leg out of his haunch, and one eye out of the front of his face." According to MacPhie "he was a giant and a wood-cutter, and went at a great pace before the Irish king Murdoch MacBrian, when the latter had lost sight of his red-eared hound, and his deer, and Ireland."²

¹A monster herdsman who plays the part of guide to the Other World can be pointed out both in Irish and in Welsh story before the time of Chrétien. In Irish such a figure occurs in the *Imram Maolduin*, and has been previously compared (Baist, *Zt. f. rom. Phil.*, **xxi**, 402-405; *Iwain A Study*, p. 62). A similar figure in the admittedly ancient Welsh tale *Kulhwch and Olwen* has hitherto escaped notice. In the course of the great quest, which forms the main incident of the tale, King Arthur is directed to the Otherworld Castle of the giant Yspaddeden by a shepherd (Custennin) who is accompanied by a marvellous dog (Loth, *Les Mab.*, **i**, 228): "They beheld a vast flock of sheep which was boundless and without end. And upon the top of a mound there was a herdsman keeping the sheep. And a rug made of skins was upon him: and by his side was a shaggy maistiff larger than a steed nine winters old. Never has he lost even a lamb from his flock. . . . All the dead trees and bushes in the plain he burnt with his breath down to the very ground."

²Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the W. Highlands*, **iv**, 297-98: cf. **ii**, 212; also **iii**, 382-86, where MacPhie's version of the Lay of Manus is given. This tells of an "*Athach*" [= *Fathach* "giant"] with but one eye, who comes as herald from the king of Lochlann and acts as guide for Finn and the Fianna to Lochlann. There, after Manus has been slain, Finn marries the daughter and fetches her home with him. A figure like the *Fáchan* is in the Irish tale "Children of the King of Norway," *Irish Texts Soc.*, **i**, 135, and another called Roc, son of Diocan, in "Finn's Visit to Conan in Ceann Sleibhe," *Trans. of Oss. Soc.*, **ii**, 141. Roc is a transformed man. According to my explanation of the *Iwain* the Monster Herdsman must have been in origin some creature of the fay in disguise, that is some one

In an Irish ms., quoted by Douglas Hyde,¹ a similar figure is described :

"A morose unlovely churl (who held) a very thick iron flail-club in his skinny hand . . . and a girdle of the skins of deer and roebuck around the thing that was his body, and one eye in the forehead of his black-faced countenance, and one bare, hard, very hairy hand coming out of his chest, and one veiny, thick-soled leg supporting him, and a close, firm, dark blue mantle of twisted, hard-thick feathers protecting his body, and surely he was more like unto devil than to man."

The agreement between these Celtic tales and the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* extends not only to the general description of the monster, and of his function as guardian of the forest and guide to the traveller, but also to minute details: the club of iron, the black-faced countenance. Here are phenomena that can be accounted for on but one of two hypotheses. Either the author of the Welsh version had only Chrétien's poem before him, but was conversant with Celtic folk-lore, and altered Chrétien's heterogeneous beast to make it like a figure that was familiar to him in native tradition. Or, the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* is not a mere version of Chrétien's poem, but its author had before him some pre-Chrétien poem from which he has preserved features more primitive than any in the work of the great poet. Those who see in the Welsh tale a mere adaptation

transformed: *Iwain A Study*, p. 114. In the *Livre d'Artus*, which copies the incident from the *Ivain*, we are told that the Huge Herdsman is Merlin, who has taken that disguise in order to lead Calogrenant to the fountain, see *Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, xvii, 54, and Freymond's long note on *monstra hominum*. To refer all one-eyed monsters to the classic cyclop is an easy but dangerous process. The combination of one eye, one foot [and one hand] is tolerably rare, and the appearance of such a monster as woodsman and guide seems peculiar to Celtic. But see *Reinfrit von Braunschweig*, ed. Bartsch, vv. 19308-319, where men with one eye and one leg occur. On cyclops see Bartsch, *Herzog Ernst*, pp. cxxxiv and clxvi f., and the learned essay in Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, 1 ff.

¹*Beside the Fire*, xx-xxii.

of Chrétien's famous romance must take refuge in the first hypothesis—an hypothesis which might perhaps be reasonable enough to explain a single incident, but becomes difficult when several features in which the Welsh is more archaic than the French are pointed out, and seems to break down entirely when it is seen, as has been shown above, that the Welsh version is more straightforward and rational than the French. That the Welsh version, even if founded solely on Chrétien's poem, should be more Celtic than it in dress and coloring, one understands. That, however, a Welsh translator, who could not definitely have understood Chrétien's poem as an Otherworld Journey story, or the lion as a guide to the Other World, since he affords the reader no direct hint of this explanation any more than Chrétien, should yet have made the story more coherent than his original, and especially should have made it end just where, and in the precise way it ought to end, if the lion is a guide to the fairy castle, is inconceivable. His lack of explanation of the lion as a guide, is a guarantee of his good faith. Had he explained, it might have been argued plausibly that he was a conscious archaizer. The Welsh author must have had the story before him in a more archaic form than the existing romance of Chrétien de Troyes.¹

In the Welsh, the animals that come together at the summons of the Monster Herdsman are as numerous² "as the stars in the sky, so that it was difficult [for Kynon] to

¹ In two particulars, not mentioned in the Welsh, Chrétien's account of the monster herdsman agrees with the Irish and Scottish descriptions quoted above; namely, in the garment of the skins of beasts, and in the appellation *vilain* ("churl"). This fits perfectly with the hypothesis that both Chrétien and the Welsh version go back to a common original *x*, of which in general the Welsh has kept the more primitive features, but from which, as is natural, Chrétien may from time to time have retained a detail dropped out by the Welsh.

² Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 9.

find room in the glade to stand among them. There were serpents and adders, and divers sorts of animals. And he [the Herdsman] looked at them and bade them go and feed; and they bowed their heads and did him homage, as vassals to their lord."

This strange horde of monsters, and especially the adders and serpents, seem more archaic than the savage bulls fighting, which are all that are mentioned by Chrétien.¹ One easily recognizes in the serpents and dragons that bow their heads in homage to the Guardian of the Forest, the fierce creatures that beset the entrance to the Other World. It is easy to see that, according to the original conception, only he who was under the protection of the Monster Herdsman could pass this infested glade. In Iwain's second journey (24) it was doubtless originally the task of the helpful lion to act as conductor through this vale of serpents. From this, the development of a helpful lion and a hurtful serpent would be easy.²

In our comparison between the first and the second parts of the *Iwain* it is perhaps, therefore, allowable to follow the order indicated by the Welsh, which seems in several instances to preserve features more original than the French of Chrétien.

The present discussion, however, does not depend upon

¹ Foerster's text mentions only wild bulls; "Tors sauvages et espaarz," v. 280, but the variants "lions," and in another ms. "Ors et lieparz," exist, while the Swedish version reads, "lions, bears and panthers," and the English "leopards, lions and bears," *Yvain*, ed. 1902, p. xxxix.

² The helpful lion probably fought the serpents, and such an incident suggested the lion and serpent combat. (In *Wolfdietrich* a lion helps W. slay the serpent, see note on p. 680, above). The precise form, however, which the combat, and the behavior of the lion, take in Chrétien's poem (and probably already in Chrétien's original), appears to be due to the influence of some chivalric legend like that attached to Goufier de Lastours.

the question of the relationship between the Welsh version and Chrétien, a difficult problem, which is only taken up here by the way, and cannot be further pursued.¹

If, without resorting to the Welsh, we make Chrétien's romance end at **28** the parallelism between the Otherworld Journey of the first part of the *Ivain*, and that of the second, can be easily made out. The hero sets out alone through a tangled wilderness in **3**, and again in **23**. To the Hospitable Host and his daughter of **4** correspond the damsel of the Fairy Remedy and the Hospitable Lady of **21** and **22**. To the Monster Herdsman of **5**, who is more beast than man, corresponds the helpful lion of **25**. Both help the hero on his way. Finally to the combat with Escalados at the Fountain Perilous in **9**, corresponds the battle with the seneschal at the same fountain in **28**.

There is then only an apparent difficulty in explaining the second half of the *Ivain* as a journey of wonders that corresponds in a general way to the first half. The lion would be a guiding beast, who also aided the hero in overcoming the monsters that guarded the passage.

¹ To the vexed question of the relationship existing between three Welsh stories in the *Red Book of Hergest* and three corresponding romances by Chrétien de Troyes, I hope to return in another article. The evidence given above tends strongly to prove that both Chrétien's poem and the *Lady of the Fountain* go back to a common original. This lost French version *x* must have itself rested, perhaps through several intermediaries, on an essentially Celtic folk-tale. In *x* the original story was probably already partly rationalized. Perhaps it was also somewhat confused and corrupted. It is not necessary to attribute all of the inconsistencies of Chrétien's version to his lack of interest in, and probable lack of comprehension of, the Otherworld meaning of some of the folk-lore motives that he used. The reader will of course turn to Foerster's discussion, *Karren-ritter*, 1899, pp. cxxvii ff.

III.

A lion¹ as guide to the Other World appears in an ancient Celtic story called the *Tochmarc Emere* or the Wooing of Emer. This fine tale which is preserved in part in the well-known Irish ms. *Lebor na h-Uidre*, and can be proved therefore to be older than 1050 A. D., tells of a lion that guided and carried Cuchulinn on his journey to the Other World. Since the tale has been but little studied, a summary of the part of it which relates to the journey may be conveniently given :²

Cuchulinn had parted from all his companions, and saw that he was astray and ignorant of the way. "He beheld a terrible great beast like a lion coming towards him which kept regarding him nor did him any harm. Whatever way he went, the beast went before him, and moreover it turned its side towards him. Then he took a leap and was on its neck. He did not guide it, but went wherever the beast liked. Four days they went in that wise until they came to the bounds of dwellers, and to an island,

¹ The lion was a familiar figure both in ancient Irish and in ancient Welsh literature. A *Dinnshenchas* in the *Book of Leinster* gives as an etymology of *lumman* "shield" the word *leoman* "lion," because, adds the *Dinnshenchas*, "every shield has a lion on it."—*Iwain*, p. 130. In *Math the son of Mathonwy*, one of the four genuine Mabinogion which are the oldest of the tales in the *Red Book of Hergest*, is a character called "Lion of the Steady Hand," Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 139. It is useless to multiply examples.

² Partly summarized and partly quoted from Kuno Meyer's translation of the longer version, from MSS. LU and Stowe 992, in *Archæological Review*, I, 234-35, 298-306. It happens that LU breaks off shortly before the lion is mentioned, but this cannot alter our opinion of the age of the incident, since LU agrees with the later MSS. word for word so far as it goes. Indeed Meyer thinks the shorter version of *Tochmarc Emere* is a piece of Irish of the eighth century, and the longer of the eleventh (*Rev. Celt.*, XI, 439). Because of its importance I quote the passage from both versions: "A mbai ann iarum co n-acai biastæ vathmair máir ina docum amail levmon" (the longer version, ed. Meyer, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, III, 248, § 63): "Fochairt iarom allaili m-beasti n-vathmair amail leoman" (the shorter version, *Rev. Celt.*, XI, 446, line 43).

where lads were rowing on a small lake. They laughed at the unwonted sight of a hurtful beast doing service to a man. Cuchulinn then leaped off, and the beast parted from him, and he blessed it." He then went on and "came to a large house in a great glen." There "he met a maiden of fair make in the house. The maiden addressed him and bade him welcome." She had known Cuchulinn before and she gave him to drink and to eat. There was also a youth in the house, of whom Cuchulinn inquired the way to the Dun of Scathach, or "Shadow" [the Queen of the Other World]. "The youth taught him the way across the Plain of Ill Luck . . . the Youth gave him a wheel and told him to follow its track thence across one-half of the plain. Then he gave him an apple, and told him to follow the ground where the apple would run."¹ The Youth also told him of "a large glen before him, and a single narrow path through it, which was full of monsters to destroy him."² Cuchulinn made

¹ For a ball as guide see *Folk-Lore Record*, II, 186; Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, p. 131, and *An Sgéahuidhe Gaedhealach*, p. 441; Curtin, *Myths and Folk Lore of Ireland*, p. 35.

² In the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind*, from LU, printed by O'Beirne Crowe in *Proc. of Royal Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, 4th series, I, 385 f. (1871), are verses describing an expedition of Cuchulinn to the Land of Scath (Shadow). Evidently it is a second version of Cuchulinn's Otherworld journey, and therefore parallel to the *Tochmarc Emere*. Here we have serpents, and a house full of toads and monsters, mentioned as obstacles (cf. the serpents before the Castle of Falerin, *Canzonet*, vv. 7357 ff.) :

"Seven walls about that city—
 Hateful was the fort :
 A rampart of irons on each wall,
 On that were nine heads.
 Doors of iron on each flank—
 Against us not great defences :
 I struck them with my leg,
 Until I drove them into fragments.
 There was a pit in the Dun
 Belonging to the king it is related—
 Ten serpents burst
 Over its border—it was a deed ! . . .
 A house full of toads
 They were let fly at us :
 Sharp beaked monsters,
 They stuck in my snout.
 Fierce draconic monsters
 To us they used to fall : . . .
 Horse-tribe though they explained them."

his way across the Plain of Ill Luck and through the Perilous Glen as the Youth had taught him. He then had to pass the Bridge of the Cliff which rose in the middle and threw back anyone who stepped on it. At the third trial Cuchulinn succeeded in crossing the Bridge of the Cliff and entering the Dun. Before possessing himself of Scathach, and of her daughter Uathach, Cuchulinn was obliged to fight "a champion Cochar Cruifne, a warrior of Scathach's." "Sorrowful was the woman Scathach" when Cuchulinn slew her champion. "And Cuchulinn said to her that he would take upon himself the work and service of the man that had fallen, so that he was the leader of her host and her champion in his stead." Before returning from the Land of Shadow, Cuchulinn assisted the queen, his mistress, in a battle against a second Otherworld queen called Aife, and won for her a victory.

This ancient tale presents very many analogies to Chrétien's *Ivain*. Cuchulinn was all alone on his journey just as Calogrenant tells emphatically that he went: "seus come paisanz . . . querant ayantures."¹ The large house in the great glen, where Cuchulinn was entertained by a fair maiden, is like the Castle of the Hospitable Host (4) where Calogrenant likewise found entertainment by a fair maiden, food, drink and directions for the way. The lion corresponds in a general way to the Monster Herdsman (5) that acted as guide. The Perilous Glen is a parallel to the tangled woods and dense thicket,² through which Calogrenant penetrated to the spring (3), and more exactly to the Glade of Serpents and Dragons in the Welsh version to which attention has been called. The Bridge of the Cliff that throws Cuchulinn down,³ is manifestly a form of the Active Door incident,

¹ Vv. 176-177.

² "Parmi une forest espesse.
Mout i ot voie felenesse,
De ronces et d'espinés plainne."—Vv. 181-3.

"L'estroit santier tot boissoneus
Que trop an est cusançoneus."—Vv. 699-700.

"[Santier] Plain de ronces et d'oscurté."—V. 769.

³ Cf. the magic bridge in *Perceval*, vv. 28554 ff., 28825 (ed. Potvin, iv, 277 ff.).

represented in the *Ivain* by the falling portcullis (10). Cuchulinn's slaying of Cochar Cruifne and taking the place of the fallen warrior as champion and paramour of the Otherworld Queen, is a startling parallel to Iwain's behavior towards Esclados the Red and his lady Laudine (9 and 15). We get in the Irish tale a glimpse at a cruder and more primitive form of the situation so long a puzzle in Chrétien's romance of the sudden marriage of a widow to the slayer of her husband.¹

In the *Tochmarc Emere*, which is older than the time of Chrétien, and is strikingly parallel to the *Ivain*, a lion guides the hero on his journey to the Other World. In the *Ivain* the lion is not said to act as a guide, though he accompanies his master, hunts for him like a dog, and aids him in combat. Chrétien evidently did not understand that only by a Journey of Wonders could Iwain win his way back to Laudine's marvellous land. The various adventures of the second half of the *Ivain* are, as has been pointed out, disconnected and rather purposeless. Even in the Welsh, where the original order seems better preserved, no explanation of the lion as a guiding beast occurs. It is not hard however to see, that, even in the present form of the story, the lion comes very

¹This parallel is more striking than that instanced in *Iwain A Study*, p. 56, from LL and LU, where Cuchulinn slew a giant (Curoi) who inhabited a whirling castle, and married the giant's supernatural wife; for, in the *Tochmarc Emere*, we are expressly told that Cochar Cruifne is a mere champion and creature of the fay Scathach. In my former study I argued that in a primitive form of the episode the warrior must have been a mere creature of the fay, conjured up by her to test the hero's valour (just as Lynet conjures up an armed knight to fight the hero, in Malory, Bk. VII). Since the champion is a mere creature of the fay, no surprise need be felt at her speedy acceptance of the conqueror. The turning up of this parallel, overlooked in my former study, strengthens notably my contention that we have in an incident of this type the key to the puzzle of Laudine's speedy marriage to the slayer of Esclados.

near being a guide to the Other World.¹ He brings Iwain food, accompanies him everywhere, and it is only by his timely aid that Iwain survives the terrible battles of the hazardous journey. The *Tochmarc Emere* greatly strengthens the general explanation of the *Iwain* as a partly rationalized Otherworld Journey story, and makes it highly probable that the lion was in origin a guide and helper for the marvellous road.

IV.

In the *Tochmarc Emere* the lion actually carries the hero on its back. Perhaps this is a primitive form of the incident. In *La Mule sans Frein*,² a French poem written about 1200, but evidently based on a folk-tale of a far more primitive time, appears a beast that carries the hero to the Otherworld Adventure :

A damsel-messenger riding a mule without a bridle came to Arthur's court and asked for the help of a knight to recover her bridle. Whoever wished to undertake the adventure must mount the mule, and allow it to choose its path, without attempting at all to direct it. We learn later that the bridle is in the castle of a mysterious lady, evidently a partly rationalized fay, whose messenger the damsel is. Kay set out first, and rode on the back of the mule, through a dense forest where lions, tigers, leopards and other terrible creatures gathered round, but the beasts did obeisance to the mule, and, out of respect to the mule and to the lady whose creature it was, did not injure Kay. The mule then entered a narrow path, through

¹ Cf. "Et itel vie, ce me sanble,
Com il orent la nuit menee,
Ont ansanble andui (i. e., Iwain and the lion) demenee
Pres trestote cele semainne
Tant qu' aventure a la fontaine
Desoz le pin les amena."—Vv. 3486-91.

² Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de Fables*, I, 1-37. *La Mule sans Frein* has already been compared to the *Iwain*: *Iwain A Study*, p. 80, note; Foerster, *Yvain*, ed. 1902, p. lxvi, note. An incident resembling *La Mule sans Frein* is in *Diu Krône*, vv. 12627 ff.

the Valley of the Fear of Death, which was beset by scorpions and serpents. It knew the path, having often traversed it before, and followed it to a bright, sparkling fountain in a meadow. Then it approached a bridge, consisting of a single bar of iron not more than one-quarter of a foot wide, that spanned a dreadful river. Kay lost courage when he caught a glimpse of the river, and he forced the mule to return.

Gawain, more brave, allowed the helpful mule to carry him through all the dangers, across the perilous bridge, over "li fluns au diable," and into a turning castle, which spun round so swiftly that it cut off half of the mule's tail behind Gawain, as he entered on the beast's back. In the castle, besides playing the beheading game with a *vilain* who was as black as a Moor, Gawain was obliged to fight, first two lions, then a knight, and lastly two serpents, before he arrived at the lady. She said, "You have killed all my beasts,"¹ but the people of the castle rejoiced that the savage animals were dead. The lady would fain have persuaded Gawain to remain with her, and be her lord, and the lord of all her castles, but he refused, and departed with the bridle.

The parallels between this story and the *Ivain* are, of course, very numerous. Here occur the damsel messenger, the failure of the first adventurer, the solitary journey, the dense forest, the savage beasts, the narrow path, the fountain, the perilous passage, the cutting off of half of the mule's tail, which corresponds to the severing of Iwain's horse behind him by the falling portcullis, and lastly the successful combat(s) with the creature(s) of the fay. The savage beasts, "lions, tigers, leopards and other terrible creatures," and the Valley of the Fear of Death beset by scorpions and serpents, are more like to the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* with its glade full of "serpents, dragons and divers sorts of animals" than to the fierce bulls of the *Ivain*.² The obsequious behavior of these animals toward the guiding beast is strikingly like that told of in the Welsh.³ It has been

¹ The beasts and the champions that had to be fought were all in origin the creatures of the fay. See p. 691, note 1.

² See, however, p. 686, above.

³ Compare the description in *La Mule sans Frein*, vv. 147-54:

"Mès les bestes par conoissance
De la dame, e par enorance

noticed that the Welsh seems here to have preserved more primitive features.

La Mule sans Frein contains also close parallels to the *Tochmarec Emere*. Its Valley of the Fear of Death, beset by scorpions and serpents, is like Cuchulinn's Plain of Ill Luck, and his Perilous Glen, "full of monsters to destroy him." Its terrible bridge and revolving castle, are like Cuchulinn's Bridge of the Cliff, which threw him backward. Its carrying mule that knows the way, and must not be guided, is like Cuchulinn's "beast like a lion" that carried him, and was not guided, but "went where it liked."

In Froissart's romance *Meliador*, a carrying stag bears the hero to a fairy castle :¹

De la mule que eles voient,
Les deus genoux à terre ploient.
Einsi por l'anor de la Dame
S'agenoilloient de la jame,
Et por ce aséur se tienent,
Qu'en la forest gisent et vienent."

And vv. 365-68 :

"Tot maintenant que il revoient
La mule que il connoissoient,
Les deus genouz à terre plient
Vers lou chevalier s'umelient."

With the passage from the Welsh quoted above, p. 686 : "And he looked at them and bade them go feed ; and they bowed their heads and did him homage as vassals to their lord."

The description of the tangled road in *La Mule sans Frein* is much like that in the *Ivain*. Compare vv. 169-172 :

"Quant il vint en une valée
Qui moult estoit parfonde et lée
Et si estoit moult perillouse
Moult creux et moult tenebrose."

With the passages quoted from the *Ivain* above, p. 690, especially with v. 769, "Plain de ronces et d'oscurté." Cf. the corresponding passage in *Diu Krône*, vv. 12781-2 : "ein tiefez tal . . . sô vinster und sô eislîch."

¹ Ed. Longnon, *Soc. Anc. Text*, vv. 28362 ff.

The hunter Saigremor was led a long chase by a white stag. At length, separated from all his comrades, and even from his horse, Saigremor was astonished to behold the stag approach him, and appear to invite him to mount. Despairing of being able to make his way on foot, Saigremor sprang upon the back of the beast. The stag immediately bore him away to a lake, into which it plunged. Presently Saigremor found himself in a marvellous castle with Diana and her maidens. We are told that the stag knew well what it ought to do. Without effort and without haste, it transported Saigremor into the lake. "The *féés*" had arranged thus¹ to have Saigremor brought to their abode.

A marvellous horse that has the power of carrying its rider across the sea to the Other World, is well-known in Irish tales.²

In *Kulhwch and Olwen* which is the oldest of the Arthurian tales contained in the Welsh ms. called *The Red Book of Hergest*, and is generally admitted to be uninfluenced by French romance, appears a salmon fish, that carries on its back heroes who journey to the Other World :³

Mabon, son of Modron, the only hunter that can hunt with the marvellous dog Drutwyn, is imprisoned [in the Other World]. "No imprisonment was ever so grievous." Kai and Gwrhŷr Gwalstawt Ieithoedd [Long Man Translator of Tongues] set out to find this prison. They were directed whither to go, successively, by a black bird, a stag, an owl, and an eagle, and were carried over a water on the shoulders of a helpful salmon, so that they came to the wall of the prison, and heard the wailing of Mabon within. He could be released only by fighting. Kai and Gwrhŷr returned and told their story. Then Kai and Bedwyr set out, were ferried over on the shoulders of the salmon, broke through the wall of the dungeon, released Mabon, and brought him away.

¹ Vv. 30343 ff. (Of course carrying beasts connect themselves with guiding beasts which are extremely well known as fairy messengers. I forbear to cite examples. See the long list in Miss Paton's *Studies in Fairy Mythology*, p. 230, note 3, and Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 354.)

² In the *Acallamh na Senórach*, a compilation at least considerably older than the fifteenth century, Ciabán and his companions when like to perish in a terrible storm were taken upon the back of Manannán's horse and carried across the waves to the Other World : O'Grady, *Silv. Gad.*, II, 198-201. In the *Gilla Decair*, Finn's men, stuck fast on the back of a monster horse, were borne over-sea to the "Land of Promise : " *Silv. Gad.*, II, 297 ff.

³ Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 261 ff.

This story of Mabon, son of Mordred,¹ as given in *Kulhwch and Olwen* is plainly a mere summary of what must have been for the Welsh a well-known tale. This tale, as one can see from the summary, must have contained the incidents of an unsuccessful preliminary adventure, a helpful carrying animal,² a perilous passage across a water, and a combat in the Other World. It shows that before the time of Chrétien, to the Welsh as well as to the Irish, the notion of a beast helpful to the Otherworld Journey was familiar.

The stories outlined in this chapter are of unequal significance and value. Taken together, however, these tales, all of them connected with the Matter of Britain, strengthen the conclusion based on the *Tochmarc Emere*, that a carrying

¹ The appearance of Mabon in connection with an Otherworld Journey and a helpful beast arouses special interest because there are various reasons for suspecting that in early Welsh tradition Mabon was a parallel figure, perhaps a doublet, to Owain [Ivain]. *Kulhwch and Olwen* makes Modron the mother of Mabon. Modron was also the mother of Owain: "Modron, daughter of Avallach and mother of Owain ab Uryen" (Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 260, translating from a Welsh triad in *Myv. Arch.*, 392. 52). Mabon and Owain then were brothers. An ancient poem from the *Book of Taliessin*, Skene, *Four Books*, I, 363, associates Mabon and Owain. It is well known that the names Mabon and some variant of Owain are often mentioned together and applied to Otherworld figures: Mabon, Eurain in *Bel Inconnu*; Mabon, Irayn in *Libeaus Desconus*; Mabonagrain, Evrain in *Erec*; Mabounain, Urain in *Perceval*; Urbain in *Didot-Perceval* (see Philipot, *Rom.*, xxv, 275-77, Miss Paton, *Studies in Fairy Mythology*, p. 210), cf. Mabuz and Iweret in *Lanzelet*.

² A capital of the fourteenth century on one of the pillars of the left side of the nave of St. Peter's Church in Caen, represents eight figures, one of them an unarmed man riding on a lion. Trebutien, *Caen: Précis de son Histoire* (1855), p. 36. Two of the other figures are unmistakably Arthurian (Lancelot on the sword bridge, and Lancelot on the perilous couch) and De La Rue explained this as "Ivain, le Chevalier au Lion." The explanation is not, however, certain. See Gasté, *Un Chapiteau de l'Eglise Saint-Pierre de Caen* (1887).

beast, which might be a lion,¹ as an incident in the Other-world Journey, was familiar to Celtic story.²

V.

In the lost twelfth century French romance which Saran has shown³ lies behind the *Chevalier du Papegau* and the Middle High German *Wigalois*, was a guiding beast that had power to direct an adventurer to the Other World. In the *Papegau*⁴ the incident with which we are concerned begins while King Arthur is engaged in another adventure :

¹ Can Arthur's extraordinary and romantic dream (Layamon, ed. Madden, III, 120-21, vv. 28058-93) about being carried to sea on the back of a golden lion and brought to shore by a friendly fish, be a reminiscence of some Otherworld journey tale?

² Campbell, *Tales of the W. Highlands*, III, 367 ff., contains a recently collected Gaelic tale about Manus that presents many similarities to the *Ivain*. Manus, on his way to fairyland, was entertained at a Hospitable House where he obtained a number of marvellous belongings: a sword, a helmet, a cloth that spread itself with food, a chain that gave marvellous strength, and especially a lion whelp which Manus carried away with him wrapped in the folds of the magic cloth (cf. *Iwain's* carrying his wounded lion on a shield to a castle to be healed, vv. 4652-80. *Wolfdietrich* likewise carried his wounded lion to a castle, *Wolf. B.* str. 730 ff. This curious incident perhaps shows that the helpful beast was in origin a dog). Later Manus took the part of a White Gruagach who was at war with a Red Gruagach. The lion carried Manus on its back across the sea to an otherwise inaccessible land [the Other World]. It cleared a castle full of monsters, and slew a "brown lap dog" that "came to eat Manus." It helped Manus in his battle with the Red Gruagach and finally it slew a venomous horned creature (*Beannach Nimhe*), in which was the life of the Red Gruagach. The Red Gruagach was killed, his head was put on a stake, and Manus was crowned king of Lochlann. (On the Tale of Manus, cf. Alex. Bugge, *Contributions to the Hist. of Norsemen in Ireland*, II, *Norse Elements in Gaelic Trad. of Mod. Times*, p. 9, *Videnskabselskabets Skrifter*, hist. fil. klasse, 1900, no. 5.)

³ *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deut. Sp.*, XXI, 253-420; see esp. 413-417.

⁴ Ed. Heuckenkampf (1896), p. 24, line 31 ff.

A damsel messenger (cf. *Ivain* 1) comes to Arthur and asks help. King Beauvoisin (Belnain) of Ile Fort, a peninsula also called Royaume aux Damoiselles,¹ has been slain, and has left his realm and his daughter, Flors de Mont, in charge of his Marshal. The Marshal has proved a traitor (cf. 26). He holds the queen and the daughter in imprisonment, and wishes to marry Flors de Mont. The messenger asks Arthur to come to the aid of her lady. Accompanied by the damsel, Arthur made his way past several hostile knights to the castle where the ladies were imprisoned. Here Arthur, who goes by the name of Chevalier du Papegau,² is told that he must journey "tout seul sans nulle campagne" (63. 30), through a waste country where he can secure no food (in *Wiglois* through a forest) (cf. 3), to the Chastel Perilleux³ where the Marshal is to be found. Fifteen have gone, and none has ever returned. Only a beast that appears every third day can act as guide.

When the beast appeared the hero set out. The beast bowed before the hero "et luy feist semblant d'umilité" (64. 12) [in *Wiglois* played before him like a dog, v. 4497]⁴ to show its good will. It was "une moult belle beste . . . grande comme ung toriaux . . . le col sutil ainsi comme ung dragon . . . le chief petit et fait ainsi comme ung serf . . . deux cornes en la teste plus blanches que neges a barres de fin or," its skin was red (64. 4-8).⁵

¹A well known term for the Celtic Other World; cf. "Isle as Puceles" in the Castle-of-Ill-Adventure Episode, *Ivain*, v. 5257; "meide lant" in *Lanzelet*, v. 4685, etc.

²Cf. Iwain's fighting the seneschal under the sobriquet "Chevalier au Lion" (28), and *Wiglois*' fighting under the name "Riter mit dem Rade," *Wiglois*, v. 6279, etc.

³Cf. the "Fontaine Perilleuse," *Ivain*, v. 810, and the "Castle Perilous" in *Malory*, Bk. VII.

⁴So Iwain's lion bowed before him:—

"Et ses piez joinz li estandoit
Et vers terre ancline sa chiere,
S'estut sor les deus piez deriere
Et puis si se ragenoilloit
Et tote sa face moilloit
De lermes par humilité." Vv. 3396-3401.

It also pulled down a stag, "Aussi com uns brachez feist," v. 3439. Compare the behavior of the beasts in the *Lady of the Fountain*, etc., p. 686, above.

⁵The corresponding description in *Wiglois*, ed. Pfeiffer, vv. 3853 ff., is: "Ein tier daz ist sô wolgetân . . . daz ich niht schoeners hân gesehen . . . ûf sinem houbet . . . eine guldine krône . . . bewahsen schöne

The beast led the hero to "ung des plus belz arbres que nul vist oncques mais." [The well-known Otherworld Landscape (6)]. Here it transformed itself into a man clad in white, who explained that he was the soul of the slain king Beauvoisin, who had taken the form of the beast. He told him about the traitorous Marshal, and gave him directions for the way. The hero had to slay a serpent, from the poison of which he fell into a swoon. He was rescued by the "Chevalier Amoureux du Chastel Sauvage" (71. 33), who entertained him for the night, and gave him directions (cf. 4) about the enchanted Chasteaux Perilleux. He pursued "une chaucie qui estoit moult estroite et serre d'arbres et d'espines"¹ and at length made his way into the Chasteaux Perilleux by crawling over a narrow, quick vibrating bridge that spanned a terrible river, "qui ne sembloit autre chose fors que ung enfer" (73. 10).² He passed a revolving razor-edged wheel that barred the entrance, eluded two armed "villans" (73. 21) on guard, and approached the Marshal. The Marshal did not salute the hero but defied him and attacked him the instant he caught sight of him [just as Esclados behaved toward Iwain]. The Marshal was "moult bien armé d'unes armes toutes vermeilles" (74. 26).³ When the Marshal was slain by the hero, the damsels of the castle made great joy, and embraced the hero, saying: "Bonne aventure ait le meilleur chevalier du monde qui nous a en ceste nuit delivrees du pire seigneur et du plus mauvais qui oncques fust!" (75. 26-8.)

Analogies between this story and the *Ivain*, especially the second part of the *Ivain*, are evidently numerous. The distressed lady besieged by the Marshal reminds us of Lunete, whom Iwain defended against the Seneschal (28). The guiding beast is a very curious animal, but it appears to be a modification of some figure like Cuchulinn's carrying lion.⁴ The story has evidently been modified in a Christian sense. The beast is the soul of the king and at the marvellous tree is a scene, omitted in the above summary, which clearly pictures Purgatory. Since the beast, however, in the origi-

mit zwein swarzen hornen . . . in sinem munde die hitze . . . von sinem houbet . . . geschaffen als ein liebart." (To the fiery breath of this guiding beast compare the breath of the dog of the guiding shepherd in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, page 683, note 1, above).

¹ Cf. the path in *Ivain* (6), in *Tochmarc Emere*, and in *La Mule sans Frein*.

² Cf. 10.

³ Cf. "Esclados the Red" (9).

⁴ In *Wigdlois* it is "geschaffen als ein liebart."

nal *märchen* must have been somebody in disguise,¹ its explanation as the ghost of a dead man would, for a monkish redactor, not have been difficult. The Marshal, who has usurped the place of the dead king in the enchanted castle, is a striking parallel to the wicked seneschal (28) whom Iwain had to fight. It is difficult to doubt that the original romance, of which *Papegau* and *Wigalois* are representatives, must have been founded on a tale in which a beast helped a hero to penetrate into the Other World.

VI.

If the contention of the preceding chapters is sound, and the *Iwain* is drawn almost entire from what must have been essentially a folk-tale, among recently collected folk-tales, especially among those found on Celtic territory, parallels to the separate incidents of the second half of the *Iwain* ought to exist.² To study this matter conveniently it is necessary to summarize the three most important separate adventures of the second part of the romance :

¹ Page 683, note 2, above.

² Some reviews of *Iwain A Study*, have objected to my use of "modern" folk-tales. In that study I endeavored to prove, in duplicate, that the *Iwain* is based on an Otherworld story. First, by using only parallels the antiquity of which is attested by LU and LL. Then by using recently collected Celtic tales. Since the evidence of the two sorts of material agrees, the second is a valuable confirmation of the first. LU and LL are preserved to us almost by accident. Let us suppose that the Danes had made another inroad and destroyed these precious mss., *Iwain* would still be based on Celtic Otherworld Story, but it would be impossible to prove it, except by the use of tales transcribed later than the time of Chrétien. The value of the "modern" folk-tale is thus evident. A chapter on analogies between the second part of the *Iwain* and recently collected folk-tales seems to me indispensable, though I am willing to let the argument rest for those who desire it on the *Tochmarc Emere*, supported by *Kulhwch and Olwen* and *La Mule sans Frein*.

(27) Iwain secured entertainment for the night at a castle where he was well received, but the people did not at first wish to admit the lion. They were afraid lest it would do them harm. Iwain, however, insisted on bringing the lion in. The people of the castle were in great sorrow because Harpin of the Mountain, a giant, was coming in the morning to carry off the daughter of the lord of the castle unless a champion could be found to defend her. Iwain volunteered and was substantially aided in the conflict by his faithful lion. The giant, stupidly it would seem, made no objection to fighting the two at once, and was pulled down and slain. [The Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* seems here again to be more primitive. According to it, the giant objected to the unequal combat, and Owain took the lion back to the castle and shut the gate upon it. But when the lion heard that Owain was hard pressed, it made its way to the top of the castle, and sprang down from the walls. The incident ends as in Chrétien's account.]

(28) Iwain was obliged to fight three at once, the wicked seneschal and his two brothers. The lion looked so fierce that the three refused to join battle till Iwain had calmed his lion, and sent it to the rear. The faithful animal returned when it saw its master hard beset, and together man and helpful lion overthrew their three foes. [In the Welsh two pages are the aggressors. To oblige them Owain put his lion into a prison and blocked the door with stones. But when it was going hard with Owain, the lion burst through the wall, rushed upon the two men and instantly slew them.]

(29) At the Castle of Ill Adventure, Iwain had to fight two goblins or demons. The goblins would not fight till Iwain had shut his lion up in a chamber. But at the critical moment the lion dug its way out under the door-sill of its prison and rescued its master. The goblins were slain. Iwain was offered in reward the daughter of the lord of the castle, but he refused and journeyed on. [In the Welsh this adventure is given as an appendix, and is not woven into the main story at all. Owain is described in the Welsh as fighting alone, though the episode is introduced by a sentence in which we are assured that the lion did not leave Owain till he had won this combat. Here seems to be an evidence of good faith on the part of the Welsh author. Artistically he must have felt that the comradeship of the lion should be perpetual, but he is content to give the adventure as he knew it, only prefixing a statement that the lion did not really leave Owain.] Chrétien appears to have transferred to 29 features that belonged to 27, with the effect of a rather wearisome insistence on the lion.

A Journey of Wonders by which a hero penetrates to the Other World is of course a common feature in folk-tales. An unusually symmetrical tale containing this feature, and

one that has not before been studied, is called: "The Old Hag of the Forest." It was collected recently in Ireland, and does not admit of being proved ancient:¹

Once on a time, when enchantments were as plentiful as blackthorn bushes, a king had three sons to each of whom he gave a hound that could catch anything, a hawk that could bring down anything, and a filly that could overtake anything. The eldest of the sons set out to seek his fortunes. He mounted the filly, with the hawk on his shoulder and the hound at his heels,² and departed. When the eldest brother had travelled twice as far as you could tell me of, he came to a great castle. He saw a wee small house near-by, and found only one old woman in it. "Can I have lodging for myself, my hawk, hound and filly?" "Well for yourself you can, but I don't like them animals, but sure you can house them outside." On the morrow he learned that the daughter of the lord of the castle was to be carried off by a giant unless there should be a hero to fight as her champion. He slew the giant, pursued a hare,³ got lost at night, and came to a wee small house in a hollow. It was the dwelling of the Old Hag of the Forest who, it turns out later, was the mother of the giant he has slain. The Old Hag said, "I'm afeerd of them wild animals of yours." She gave the hero three hairs from her head and persuaded him to bind his animals with them. She became terrible in size and fury, and fought with the hero. Almost overcome, he called successively for help to his three animals. They replied one after another that the hairs were binding them so fast as almost to cut into them. The Hag then overcame the hero, and turned him and his three animals to stone.

The second brother went through the same adventures, and met the same fate.

The younger brother was more wary. When given the Hag's hairs he threw them away, and bound his animals with something else. When hard pressed in battle with the Hag, he called to his animals. They broke loose. The Hound caught the Hag by the heel. The Filly kicked her. The Hawk picked out her eyes. The hero forced the Hag to restore his brothers and their animals to life, and then he slew her. He married the king's daughter whom he had rescued from the giant-offspring of the Hag. The tale ends happily.

The unwillingness of the hostess in this Irish tale to admit the hero's animals is exactly like the unwillingness of

¹ Summarized from Seumas MacManus, *In Chimney Corners*, N. Y. (1899), pp. 127-46.

² Hawk, hound, and horse were the typical companions of an ancient hunter.

³ I abbreviate very much at this point. The hare is the Hag in disguise.

Iwain's entertainers. As in the *Ivain* (27), the hero has to fight a giant in the morning in order to rescue the daughter of the lord of the castle. The tying of the helpful animals at the request of the Old Hag is like Owain's shutting up his lion in the castle, whence it escaped over the battlements (27, in the Welsh), and like his putting the lion in a prison blocked up with stones, whence it broke through the wall (28, in the Welsh). A close parallel to this is in 29, in the *Ivain*, where the lion is put into a chamber and digs out under the sill. In all of these incidents, it is important to notice that the helpful beasts break loose at precisely the critical moment, and that without their aid the hero would be slain.

If the conclusions of the preceding chapters are sound, Owain in ancient Welsh tradition must have been credited with a helpful lion. In this recently collected folk-tale, we find a hero engaged in an enterprise similar to Owain's, and assisted by a hound, a horse, and a hawk, quite as Owain was by his lion. It is worth noticing that ancient Welsh tradition credits Owain with helpful ravens. These ravens are mentioned at the end of the *Lady of the Fountain*,¹ and play a chief part in the ancient tale called the *Dream of Rhonobwy*.² Perhaps in very early story Owain had a helpful horse, dog, and hawk (which admits of confusion with a raven), the three animals that regularly accompanied an ancient hunter.³ Some indication that the helpful lion in

¹ Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 42. Owain is mentioned in connection with ravens in the Gododin poems in the *Bk. of Aneurin*, Skene, *Four Books*, I, 374.

² Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 303 ff. Cf. Loth's note, p. 308.

³ Cf. *Conte du Mantel* (a twelfth century text), ed. Wulff, *Romania*, XIV, 358-380: "Yvain . . . qui tant ama chiens et oiseaus," vv. 496-99. Irish tales very often assign three animals of this sort to their hero. Cf. "The King of the Black Desert," Hyde, *An Sgéaluidhe Gaedhealach*, pp. 143 ff., with its refrain eight times repeated: "His dog at his heels, his falcon on his wrist, riding on his good black horse." It is to be noted that the

the *Ivain* was originally a dog has been noted.¹ Anyhow the interchange of helpful lion and helpful dog is an easy one. Campbell prints a variant of the "Old Hag of the Forest" obtained in Skye, in which the helpful beasts are a lion, a wolf and a falcon,² and another in which a lion, a dove, and a rat³ help the hero slay his marvellous foe.

The folk-tale, of which "The Old Hag" is a representative, has analogues in many lands,⁴ and is doubtless very

ravens, according to Welsh tradition, won Owain's victories for him: "Partout où il allait avec eux [the ravens], il était vainqueur," Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 42. It is precisely thus with the lion in the *Ivain*. Wherever Iwain goes with the lion he conquers. Mabon, Iwain's doublet, was a marvellous hunter, p. 695 above.

¹ See p. 697, note 2.

² *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, I, 96 ff.

³ I, 102 ff. Cf. Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, pp. 373-406, where the hero slays "Hung up Naked," a supernatural foe, by the aid of a Hound, a Hawk and an Otter.

⁴ "Knight Rose" in Jones and Kropf, *Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, pp. 54-58, is the closest of these analogues. Knight Rose slew three giants. He then met their dam, a witch who had killed his two older brothers. He released his brother's dogs. The witch was afraid of the dogs, and by their aid he slew her. He then restored his brothers to life. This story is manifestly an imperfect distortion of the theme better represented by "The Old Hag" (O. H.). (1) In it the [enchanted] hounds are not explained but turn up casually, while in O. H. to each of three sons the king gave, at the outset, a filly that could overtake anything, a hound that could, etc. (2) It lacks, though it implies, the preliminary adventures of the two older brothers. (3) Knight Rose pursues a hare and cooks it before a fire, but it is not explained, as in O. H., that the hare is the Hag, the dam of the giants, who took this shape to lure away the slayer of her sons. (4) Knight Rose actually sees the dogs of his brothers. O. H. much better has the dogs turned to stone and invisible.

Other analogues, for the most part even less symmetrically preserved than "Knight Rose," are: "Marya-Morevna," Curtin, *Myths and Folk Tales of the Russians*, pp. 203-17. The hero Ivan is helped by a raven, eagle, falcon, and by a horse that kicks the supernatural foe Koshchéi the Deathless: "Ivan, the Bird and the Wolf," Curtin, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff. A wolf eats Ivan's steed but *himself carries* Ivan better than any steed; cf. pp. 106 ff., 165 ff.: "The Three Brothers," Denton, *Serbian Folk-lore*, pp. 256-294: "How the Rájá's son won the Princess Labám," Stokes (Maive

old. It is not absurd to believe that it is older than the time of Chrétien, and was known then, as now, in Celtic legend.¹ There is a good chance that the resemblances noted between this tale and the *Ivain* are not accidental, but are due to the use by Chrétien of a Celtic *märchen*. Nobody would maintain that the folk-tales are founded on the incidents in the *Ivain*. In view of the other evidence found in preceding chapters, a conclusion that the folk-tales give a glimpse at some archaic themes that appeared in Chrétien's original, may perhaps be regarded as highly probable. The inference made at the beginning of this chapter is anyhow correct. In folk-tales describing the Otherworld journey, close parallels to incidents in the latter part of the *Ivain* appear.

VII.

Whoever admits, as most scholars now seem inclined to do, that any considerable part of the *Ivain* was based on a folk-tale, should, as a result of this discussion, regard it as almost certain that the entire romance was derived from some one particular tale.

Of course this original tale was not a Celtic fairy mistress story in an uncontaminated form. It had borrowed traits from the theme of a giant that holds a lady captive, and

S. H.), *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 153-163, where a tiger helps the hero slay two demons [W. Stokes in a note on p. 287 suggests an analogy to "Owain's fight with the giant in the *Lady of the Fountain*"]: "Ivan Kupiskas Søn," Friis, *Lappiske Eventyr og Folkesagn*, pp. 170 ff., a helpful dog, bear and wolf dig out under two clashing mountains to aid the hero: "The Tower of Ill Luck," Pedroso, *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, pp. 45 ff., helpful horse and lion; also "The Slices of Fish," *op. cit.*, pp. 100 ff., helpful horse and lion: cf. "La Cerva Fatata," *Il Pentamerone* (ninth tale of the first day).

¹ Helpful animals have been pointed out in LU and LL. See *Ivain A Study*, p. 131, note 2: Cuchulinn's steed Grey of Macha, and Conall's horse Dewy Red, fought along with their masters.

perhaps also from some other themes. Doubtless it contained features which had passed into Celtic from what has been called "the common stock of European folk-lore." That in no way affects the conclusions of the present investigation, which does not concern itself with ultimate origins, but only with the relatively immediate source used by Chrétien. That these features came to Chrétien, interwoven with what was essentially a Celtic tale, is all that the argument requires. The present discussion should make stronger than ever the belief of those who hold that almost every incident in Chrétien's *Ivain* was suggested by an ancient Celtic tale, dealing with the familiar theme of a journey to win a fairy mistress in the Other World. The special point which the present discussion, it is thought, renders almost certain, is, that a helpful lion must have been an integral part of the original used by Chrétien.

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